

Message Text

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S E C R E T SAIGON 5195

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VS

SUBJECT: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM IN THE ICCS

1. I BELIEVE THAT POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM IN THE ICCS HAS ASSUMED AN UNMISTAKEABLE PATTERN THAT, IF ALLOWED TO CONTINUE, WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ICCS TO FUNCTION AS CALLED FOR IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. REGRETTABLY, OUR EFFORTS HERE, THOSE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN IN WASHINGTON WITH THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN AMBASSADORS, AND THE APPROACHES MADE BY OUR AMBASSADORS IN WARSAW AND BUDAPEST, HAVE HAD NO PERCEPTIBLE IMPACT ON THE PERFORMANCE OF THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS.

2. AT THE END OF THE FIRST MONTH OF THE CEASE FIRE IT STILL SEEMED POSSIBLE THAT THE ICCS WOULD BE ABLE TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATIONS OF CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS IN A FAIR AND OBJECTIVE MANNER. HOWEVER, DURING THIS INITIAL PERIOD A REAL TEST HAD NOT DEVELOPED AND FEW SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES HAD COME BEFORE THE ICCS. IN MARCH, HOWEVER, A GROWING NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR INVESTIGATION HAD TO BE ADDRESSED AND THE PERFORMANCE OF THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS WAS MOST DISAPPOINTING. (DURING THE FIRST 30 DAYS THE ICCS PLENARY WAS CHAIRED BY CANADA. DURING THE SECOND 30 DAYS IT WAS CHAIRED BY HUNGARY.)

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3. WHILE THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS IN THE ICCS PLENARY HAVE OFTEN APPROVED THE INITIATION OF INVESTIGATIONS, AT THE REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL LEVELS THEY HAVE USED A VARIETY OF DEVICES AND TACTICS TO THWART MEANINGFUL AND OBJECTIVE INVESTIGATIONS. THE MOST NOTICEABLE EXAMPLES ARE: REFUSAL TWICE TO CONCUR IN INVESTIGATION OF EMPLACEMENT OF SA-2 MISSILES AT KHE SANH; REFUSAL AT THE SAIGON LEVEL TO ACCEPT AND

SUBMIT TO THE FPJMC A UNANIMOUS REPORT ON SA HUYNH; BLOCKING OF INVESTIGATION OF THE CONTINUING ATTACK ON TON LE CHAM; WITHDRAWAL OF THE POLES FROM SUB- REGIONAL TEAMS AT BEN CAT AND TRI TON; AND REFUSAL OF BOTH HUNGARIANS AND POLES TO DEPLOY TO HONG NGU

DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CANADIANS AND INDONESIANS HAVE BEEN THERE FOR SOME TIME.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS DO NOT HINDER INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST COMPLAINTS. IN CASE AFTER CASE THEY GIVE UNDUE WEIGHT TO EVIDENCE SUPPLIED BY THE PRG, WHILE INVENTING INGENIOUS REASONS FOR NOT ACCEPTING EVIDENCE THAT COULD BE EMBARRASSING

TO THE COMMUNIST SIDE. POLISH AND HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVES BELOW THE SAIGON LEVEL MAKE A PRACTICE OF NOT CONCURRING IN REPORTS WHICH MIGHT BE OFFENSIVE TO THE PRG.

5. I AM SENDING BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM A LIST OF EXAMPLES WHICH ILLUSTRATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS HAVE FRUSTRATED THE WORK OF THE ICCS.

6. THE CANADIAN DELEGATION SHARES OUR VIEW OF THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN BEHAVIOR IN THE ICCS. IF NO IMPROVEMENT IS NOTED IN THE NEXT 60 DAYS, IT SEEMS VERY LIKELY THAT THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT WILL FEEL IMPELLED TO WITHDRAW FROM ICCS WHEN IT REVIEWS THE MATTER.

7. IN MY OPINION, UNLESS WE CAN PERSUADE THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENTS TO INSTRUCT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE ICCS TO ADOPT AN OBJECTIVE AND EVEN- HANDED ATTITUDE IN PERFORMING THEIR OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS, THE ICCS IS LIKELY TO FAIL IN ITS IMPORTANT MISSION.

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